

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PEKING 1530

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: CODEL FULBRIGHT LEADERSHIP DISCUSSIONS IN PEKING

SUMMARY. CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION LED BY SENATOR FULBRIGHT RECEIVED ACCOMMODATING WELCOME BY PRC HOSTS, HIGHLIGHTED BY NEARLY FOUR HOURS OF DISCUSSION WITH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA, AND TWO HOURS WITH VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING. TOPICS INCLUDED BOTH BILATERAL RELATIONS AND SURVEY OF MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. CHIAO KUAN-HUA DREW FOR THE CODEL IN CLEAR TERMS THE VIEW THAT IF U.S. WANTS FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH PRC IT MUST BREAK FORMAL TIES WITH TAIWAN ON THE JAPANESE PATTERN. TENG AND CHIAO BOTH ELABORATED THE VIEW THAT THE SOVIET THREAT IS DIRECTED PRIMARILY TOWARD THE WEST, ADDING THAT THE PRC IS PREPARED TO IMPOSE PROTRACTED WAR ON THE RUSSIANS IF THEY SHOULD ATTACK CHINA. TENG INDICATED PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI WOULD VERY LIKELY HAVE RECEIVED THE GROUP WERE HE NOT MORE GRAVELY ILL THAN DURING THE VISIT OF SENATOR JACKSON. END SUMMARY.

1. CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE AND FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS HAVE GIVEN CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION LED BY SENATOR FULBRIGHT A GENERALLY RELAXED AND ACCOMMODATING RECEPTION CAPPED BY LENGTHY EXPOSURE TO VICE FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA AND VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING. FOUR DAYS OF SIGHTSEEING
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AND OFFICIAL TALKS IN PEKING WILL BE FOLLOWED BY A TWO

DAY TRIP BY TRAIN TO TAIYUAN AND TACHAI PRODUCTION BRIGADE, THEN TO CHANGSHA BY PLANE WITH VISIT TO MAO'S BIRTHPLACE AT SHAOSHAN, A FURTHER PLANE TRIP TO RESORT AREA OF HANGCHOW FOR TWO DAYS, WITH FINAL TIME IN SHANGHAI BEFORE DEPARTURE ON MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 14.

2. FIRST SESSION WITH CHIAO, ON SEPTEMBER 3, BEGAN WITH THE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER NOTING THE CONTRIBUTION FULBRIGHT HAD MADE TOWARD IMPROVING U.S.-PRC RELATIONS. HE COMMENTED ON THE GREAT CHANGES IN OUR RELATIONS THAT HAD TAKEN PLACE IN RECENT YEARS, DESPITE REMAINING TRACES OF THE POLICIES OF THE TRUMAN ERA. REPRESENTATIVE FRELINGHUYSEN ASKED IF THERE WAS AN INTEREST IN THINGS AMERICAN IN THE PRC EQUIVALENT TO AMERICAN INTEREST IN CHINA, AND INVITED THE PRC TO SEND DELEGATIONS EQUIVALENT TO THE CODEL TO THE U.S.

3. CHIAO THEN WENT INTO A DISCUSSION OF THE OBSTACLE TO SUCH VISITS--TAIWAN, AND U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE ROC. HE SAID THE PRC DID NOT ATTACH TOO MUCH IMPORTANCE TO THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN, BUT THAT IF THE U.S. WISHES TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE PRC IT MUST "GO IN THE DIRECTION OF THE JAPANESE SOLUTION" AND SEVER ITS TIES TO THE ISLAND. SENATOR FONG ASKED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE TWO CHINESE SIDES NEGOTIATING THEIR DIFFERENCES. CHIAO REPLIED THAT WHILE THIS WAS HIGHLY DESIRABLE, IT WAS THE BASIC VIEW OF THE PRC THAT "PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION IS AN IMPOSSIBILITY". HE ADDED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD NOT CONCERN ITSELF WITH THIS PROBLEM, BUT TAKE STEPS TO ASSURE THAT THE CHINESE CAN SETTLE THE TAIWAN ISSUE AMONG THEMSELVES.

4. REPRESENTATIVE ZABLOCKI OBSERVED THAT CHIAO'S VIEW ON A SOLUTION OF THE TAIWAN QUESTION SEEMED TO BE IN CONTRADICTION WITH THE PRC'S SUPPORT FOR PEACE. THE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER THEN RECALLED OFFICIAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE U.S. SINCE 1955 WHERE THE AMERICAN SIDE TRIED TO GET THE PRC TO COMMIT ITSELF TO A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE TAIWAN QUESTION. HE NOTED THAT THE PRC HAD REFUSED TO DO SO AS THIS IS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR FOR THE CHINESE THEMSELVES TO RESOLVE. HE ADDED THAT THE PRC IS NOT IN A

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HURRY AND IS PREPARED TO WAIT A HUNDRED YEARS FOR THE RESOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE. CHIAO NOTED THAT THE U.S. TREATY WITH ROC WAS SIGNED IN THE EISENHOWER ERA AND BORE THE MARK OF JOHN FOSTER DULLES. THE DISCUSSION CONTINUED WITH CHIAO OBSERVING THAT "THE COMMITMENT" (OF THE U.S. TREATY WITH THE ROC) IS YOUR AFFAIR AND IT IS YOUR PROBLEM WHAT TO DO WITH IT. BUT TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE PRC IT IS NECESSARY TO MAKE A COMPLETE BREAK WITH TAIWAN."

5. SENATOR HUMPHREY COMMENTED FAVORABLY ON CHIAO'S EXPRESSION OF PATIENCE IN RESOLVING THE TAIWAN ISSUE, AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT U.S.-PRC RELATIONS WOULD BE STRENGTHENED IN THE MEANWHILE. THE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER REPLIED THAT THE FRAMEWORK FOR FURTHER IMPROVEMENTS IN U.S.-PRC RELATIONS EXISTED IN THE TERMS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, WHICH SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT MORE FULLY. FINALLY, SENATOR FONG EXPRESSED INTEREST IN PROMOTING THE REUNITING OF CHINESE WITH THEIR RELATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES. CHIAO WAFFLED ON THE REPLY, NOTING THIS WAS ONE OF THE DIFFICULT ISSUES IN OUR RELATIONS FOR WHICH THERE WAS NO EASY SOLUTION UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. THE FIRST SESSION CONCLUDED WITH CHIAO COMMENTING THAT HE HAD NOT INTENDED TO FOCUS SO EXCLUSIVELY ON BILATERAL MATTERS, AND LOOKED FORWARD TO A SECOND SESSION ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.

6. SECOND SESSION WITH THE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER ON SEPTEMBER 4 WAS DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. CHIAO POLITELY DERIDED FULBRIGHT'S EXPRESSION OF HOPE THAT THE UNITED NATIONS COULD BE STRENGTHENED AS AN ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE. HE SIMILARLY DERIDED THE POSSIBILITY OF DETENTE IN VIEW OF SOVIET BEHAVIOR. CHIAO DETAILED AT LENGTH THE PRC'S EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH THE RUSSIANS. HE SAID THERE WERE TWO CONCLUSIONS FROM THIS HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE: THE SOVIETS WERE PERFIDIOUS; AND THEY BULLY THE WEAK AND FEAR THE STRONG. IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR HUMPHREY'S COMMENT ON THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING A STRONG NATO, CHIAO OBSERVED THAT WHILE IN PRINCIPLE THE PRC CALLED FOR THE WITHDRAWAL TO THEIR HOME TERRITORY OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS, THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS MAINTAINED A TROOP PRESENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE FAR EAST PROVIDED A VALID REASON FOR THE U.S. MAINTAINING ITS CONFIDENTIAL

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MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE AND JAPAN. HE STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE U.S. TO MAINTAIN A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN.

7. RAISING THE ISSUE OF VIETNAM, SENATOR FONG INQUIRED ABOUT CHINESE AND SOVIET MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO NORTH VIETNAM AND THE VIETCONG. CHIAO COMMENTED THAT PRC AID TO ITS FRIENDS IN VIETNAM AMOUNTED TO ONLY A "SMALL HILL" IN COMPARISON WITH THE "HIGH MOUNTAIN" OF AMERICAN AID. HE NOTED THAT THE PRC HOPES THE PARIS AGREEMENT WILL BE CARRIED OUT, AND CALLED ATTENTION TO PRC RESTRAINT ON THE VIETNAM QUESTION.
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8. RETURNING TO THE ISSUE OF THE SOVIET THREAT, THE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER OBSERVED THAT CHINA DID NOT FEAR THE RUSSIANS, AND INDEED MAY HAVE OVERESTIMATED THE SOVIET THREAT IN THE PAST. HE SAID CHINA WOULD NOT PROVOKE THE RUSSIANS, BUT WAS PREPARED TO FIGHT IF NECESSARY. HE FURTHER DEPRECATED THE SOVIET PROBLEM BY COMMENTING THAT RUSSIAN TROOP STRENGTH IN THE FAR EAST WAS BARELY ENOUGH FOR DEFENSE LET ALONE AN OFFENSIVE CAPABILITY. CHIAO DISPARAGED THE FIRST SALT AGREEMENT WITH THE INTERPRETATION THAT THE SOVIETS HAD BROKEN IT BY GOING AHEAD WITH QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS IN THEIR STRATEGIC WEAPONS. THE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION CONCLUDED WITH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER CHIDING THE DELEGATION FOR DEBATING STRATEGIC ISSUES SO PUBLICLY. HE CITED THE ISSUE OF DIEGO GARCIA, WHICH HAD DRAWN SOME OPPOSITION IN CONGRESS. CHIAO CONTRASTED THE AMERICAN APPROACH WITH THE SOVIETS, WHO HAD QUIETLY GONE AHEAD AND ESTABLISHED THREE OR MORE NAVAL FACILITIES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

9. THE TWO HOUR SESSION WITH VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING ON SEPTEMBER 5 WAS HELD IN THE GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE WITH VICE FOREIGN MINISTERS CHIAO KUAN-HUA AND WANG HAI-JUNG, FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS LIN PING, TING YUAN-HUNG AND CHAO CHI-HUA, AND PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE LEADERS CHOU CHIU-YEH AND KING TAI-SHA IN ATTENDANCE. TENG BEGAN BY OBSERVING THAT "IF PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI WERE NOT ILL, I'M SURE HE WOULD HAVE MET WITH YOU." HE ADDED THAT "SENATOR

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JACKSON MET BRIEFLY WITH PREMIER CHOU IN THE HOSPITAL, BUT HIS ILLNESS IS GRAVER NOW, SO IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO RECEIVE YOU EVEN IN THE HOSPITAL."

10. ALMOST THE ENTIRE DISCUSSION WITH THE VICE PREMIER FOCUSED ON THE SOVIET UNION. TENG BEGAN BY RECALLING THE LINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" WHICH HAD BEEN PUT FORWARD BY KHRUSHCHEV. HE THEN QUERIED THE GROUP AS TO WHO HAD GAINED AND WHO HAD LOST BY THE "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" OF THE PAST TWO DECADES. HE NOTED THAT THE RUSSIANS HAD TRIED TO PUT CHINA ON THE SPOT BY SIGNING THE PARTIAL TEST BAN TREATY IN 1963, AND OBSERVED THAT THEY WOULD NOW TRY TO DO THE SAME THING TO THE U.S. WITH THE SALT AGREEMENT. HE COMMENTED ON THE ASTOUNDING SPEED WITH WHICH THE SOVIETS WERE PROCEEDING TO DEVELOP STRATEGIC WEAPONS. HE POINTED TO THE INCREASING SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, MIDDLE EAST, PERSIAN GULF, INDIAN OCEAN, AND IN THE PACIFIC AND SAID THE U.S. SHOULD TAKE HEED AND MAINTAIN VIGILANCE. HE DEBUNKED "DETENTE" AND THE CONCEPTS OF "A GENERATION OF PEACE" AND "LASTING PEACE."

11. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM SENATOR FULBRIGHT ABOUT WHY THE CHINESE MEDIA LUMPED "U.S. IMPERIALISM" TOGETHER WITH "SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM", TENG SAID A CLOSE READING OF PRC STATEMENTS WOULD SHOW A DIFFERENCE IN EMPHASIS. HE COMMENTED THAT THE CHINESE "ARE MORE AT EASE WITH THE U.S. (THAN THE RUSSIANS) FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE." THE VICE PREMIER DUCKED AN INQUIRY FROM REPRESENTATIVE ZABLOCKI ABOUT HOW LONG "THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE" MIGHT BE. TENG REITERATED CHIAO KUAN-HUA'S THESIS THAT THE SOVIET THREAT WAS DIRECTED TOWARD THE WEST, NOT THE EAST. HE RIDICULED WHAT HE SAID HAD BEEN REPORTS FROM A "RELIABLE SOURCE" THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE PLANNING TO ATTACK CHINA IN THE SPRING OR SUMMER OF THIS YEAR. HE SAID THE SAME "RELIABLE SOURCE" WAS NOW PREDICTING AN ATTACK IN THE FALL. HE DETAILED THE PRC'S ANALYSIS THAT THREE-QUARTERS OF THE SOVIET TROOPS WERE DEPLOYED TOWARD THE WEST, AND THAT THESE TROOPS WERE QUALITATIVELY SUPERIOR TO THOSE ON THE CHINESE FRONTIER. TENG ADDED THAT THE PRC WAS, HOWEVER, PREPARED FOR A PROTRACTED WAR WITH THE RUSSIANS
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AND HAD CONFIDENCE THEY COULD COPE WITH AN ATTACK IF IT SHOULD OCCUR.

12. REPRESENTATIVE FRELINGHUYSEN CALLED ATTENTION TO AN

APPARENT DEBATE IN THE PRC PRESS ON THE QUESTION OF IMPORTING FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY. HE ASKED IF THE CHINESE WERE RECONSIDERING THEIR TRADING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST. TENG COMMENTED THAT THERE WAS NO DEBATE ON THE PRINCIPLE OF "SELF RELIANCE" IN CHINA'S NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, BUT THAT THE PRC WOULD CONTINUE TO ABSORB FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY ACCORDING TO ITS ABILITY TO PAY FOR IT, OR WITH DEFERRED PAYMENT ARRANGEMENTS WHERE CHINA HAS THE ABILITY TO GUARANTEE ITS ABILITY TO MAKE A REPAYMENT. HE PREDICTED THERE WOULD BE A SLOW EXPANSION IN THE VOLUME OF THE PRC'S FOREIGN TRADE.

13. IN CONCLUSION, TENG ASKED THE DELEGATION TO CONVEY THE GOOD WISHES OF CHAIRMAN MAO AND PREMIER CHOU TO PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER.

14. COMMENT: THESE FORMAL DISCUSSIONS HAVE DRAWN FOR THE CODEL IN SHARP RELIEF PRC CONCERNS ABOUT BOTH BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. CHIAO'S DISCUSSION OF THE TAIWAN QUESTION EXPLICITLY RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE FUTURE OF THE U.S.-ROC MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY, ALTHOUGH HE HELD BACK FROM MAKING THE EXPLICIT ASSERTION THAT THE U.S. MUST ABANDON TAIWAN TO ITS FATE. THE COMMENTS BY CHIAO AND TENG ON THE SOVIET THREAT DREW IN ALMOST STYLIZED TERMS A PICTURE OF A RELAXED CHINA FACING A PROBLEM THEY NOW ASSERT "THE WEST" WILL HAVE TO COPE WITH. THE FULL IMPACT OF THESE THEMES IN THE OFFICIAL TALKS ON THE THINKING OF MEMBERS OF THE CODEL WILL PERHAPS BECOME EVIDENT AS THE REMAINING DAYS OF THE TOUR PROCEED. THE DELEGATION GIVES A RETURN BANQUET FOR THE CHINESE THIS EVENING. ALL THE OFFICIALS THEY HAVE MET WERE INVITED TO ATTEND. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY LIST OF ACCEPTANCES PRESENTED THIS NOON HAD VICE FOREIGN MINISTER WANG HAI-JUNG THE HIGHEST RANKING OFFICIAL TO ATTEND. ONE HOUR BEFORE THE BANQUET THE DELEGATION WAS INFORMED THAT WANG, AND INTERPRETER NANCY TANG, HAD SOME UNAVOIDABLE WORK OBLIGATION THAT WOULD PREVENT THEM FROM ATTENDING THE DINNER. IT WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD APPEAR AT THE BEGINNING OF THE BANQUET TO AT LEAST GREET THE DELEGATION. WE RESIST ANY INTERPRETATION OF WHAT THIS MIGHT MEAN FOR THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CHAIRMAN. END COMMENT. BRUCE

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